1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Ön had a son called Püv. One day when Püv was acting as *palikartmokh* at Kuudr, he was churning in the dairy with a ring on the little finger of his right hand. When the dairyman goes to fetch water he should always take the churning stick out of the *patat* or vessel in which the milk is churned. On this occasion Püv left it in the *patat* and went out to fetch water. As he was going a black bird called *karpüls* tried to check him, saying "*tls, tls, tls,*" meaning "Don't go to the water," but Püv paid no attention and went on. When he was taking the water the ring dropped from his little finger into the spring. Püv saw the ring in the water, but could not reach it, and so he got into the spring. The water was not deep, and yet as soon as he stepped into the spring it completely covered him and he was drowned. When Ön found that his son was lost he cried very bitterly and covered himself with his cloak (*tuni*). (Ön is said to have been a *palol* at this time.) When Ön covered himself he looked downwards and saw, as through a veil, his son in Amnòdr playing with the ring, putting it on and off his finger.[1]

When Ön saw that his son was in Amnòdr he did not like to leave him there alone and decided to go away to the same place. So he called together all the people and the buffaloes and the trees to come and bid him farewell. All the people came except a man of Kwòdrdoni named Arsankutan. He and his family did not come. All the buffaloes came except the *arsaiir*, the buffaloes of the Kwòdrdoni *ti*. Some trees also failed to come. Ön blessed all the people, buffaloes and trees present, but said that because Arsankutan had not come he and his people should die by sorcery at the hands of the Kurumbas, and that because the *arsaiir* had not come they should be killed by tigers, and that the trees which had not come should bear bitter fruit. Since that time the Todas have feared the Kurumbas, and buffaloes have been killed by tigers. All the Todas and all the buffaloes appear to have suffered for the evil deeds of Arsankutan and the *arsaiir*.

Then Ön went away to Amnòdr, taking the buffaloes

[1] According to another account, Püv died from trying to catch the image of a white calf in the water. At that time, it was the custom to kill and bury any calf of a white colour, and one had been buried close to the spring.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

In the legend of Kwoten, this hero kills Parden, but so far as I know this is the only example of murder, either legendary or historical, among the Todas. The Todas may take part in the murder of a Kurumba who has been working magic, but this is of course no crime from the Toda point of view, but an obvious method of self-defence, for it is believed that the only way of stopping Kurumba sorcery is to kill the sorcerer.

With the exception of the occurrences accompanying the transference of wives, which I have already considered, I heard of no case of assault by one Toda on another.

Similarly, I heard of no offence against property except in connexion with the dairy. So far as I know, ornaments or clothing are never stolen. In the list of offences against the dairy, stealing ghi is included, but it was clear that this is regarded as sacrilege, as an offence against the dairy and not as an offence committed against the individual.

Suicide

In the legend of Kwoten there is a record of suicide by strangling, and since the suicide of Erten and his confederates this is said to have been a recognised custom among the Todas. Several instances have occurred in recent times; thus, about four generations ago, at a village called Podzkwar, near Taradrkirsi, a woman and her husband had a dispute and the woman strangled herself. About three generations ago a man strangled himself in the dairy at Melgars, and when a Toda is very angry he will threaten to commit suicide, saying "*on mêdr kati kêdraividikin*"—"my neck tying, I will die."

Another way of committing suicide, said to have been borrowed from the Badagas, is that of taking opium. There has been a recent case of suicide, by this means, and when angry, a Toda sometimes says, "*mud tid kêdraividikin*"—"Opium eating, I will die."

The Monegar

The Todas have a *monegar*, or headman, who is responsible for the assessment which the Todas pay to Government for their grazing rights, &c. (see below).

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

176 existed among the Todas as among so many other races, till it
234 was pointed out that this was like a buffalo with one horn, and
the youngest son was therefore similarly endowed to restore
422 the symmetry of the family. The buffalo influences the Toda
428 mind so much that I do not think this is a far-fetched
explanation of a custom which appears to be the unique
possession of this people.

The word *kudr* is also the name of one of the divisions of the clan, and it seemed clear in this case that the proper number of *kudr* in each clan is two.

234 There is much transference of buffaloes from one man to
422 another, or from one family to another. Many ceremonies
involve gifts of buffaloes, and these are usually presented by a
425 member of one clan to a member of another. Marriage is one of the chief occasions of such gifts. Refusal to fulfil the marriage contract and divorce involve the payment of buffaloes, and the *tererstthi* custom is a great source of the passing of buffaloes from one clan to another. Similarly, buffaloes are given at the ceremonies of naming, ear-piercing, &c., and as I have already pointed out, these transferences have led to great confusion in the classification of the different kinds of sacred buffaloes, as a man may have in his possession animals belonging to several named groups.

In the case of ordinary buffaloes, or *putiir*, it seemed that a distinction is made between buffaloes which have been acquired by a man and those descended from animals which had been in the possession of his father and grandfather. My attention was drawn to this point by the occurrence at the funeral of Sinerani. The recalcitrant buffalo on this occasion was one of the latter kind, and I was told that it should not have been killed at the funeral of a girl because, being descended from a buffalo which belonged to Kuriolv's grandfather, Kuriolv's heirs had a right to it of which they were deprived by its slaughter for a girl. If the dead child had been a boy the slaughter of this buffalo would have been proper, for the dead child in this case would have been one of the heirs.

234 Transferences of buffaloes also take place between Todas
609 and Badagas, as we have seen in connexion with the ear-

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

piercing ceremony described in Chapter XIV. In this case the gift appeared to be nothing more than a friendly compliment, but it is possible that transferences of buffaloes may in some cases be connected with the other complicated relations between the two tribes. 234 609

Household Goods. These are equally divided among the sons, though, as in the case of the buffaloes, they are used in common so long as the sons live together. If household goods have to be divided among the members of a family they are shared as equally as possible, and this is also the case with any ornaments. If the man had only one ring, it was said that this ring would either be broken up and shared equally, or its value would be divided. Money is shared equally among the sons. 422 428 595

If one of several brothers who has his own wife should die and leave children, the sons would take their father's share at any division of property. Thus, at the time of my visit, Piutolvan and Pŭljcidi (10), two very old men, were thinking of dividing their buffaloes among their descendants. In this case Menkars would receive the number which his father Tagners would have received if he had been alive. If Tagners had left two sons, the portion which their father would have received would be divided between the two boys or devoted to their common use.

Daughters inherit nothing. They only receive from their parents what they are given as dowry (*adrparn*).

Any property given to a woman as dowry goes with her if she changes husbands, but any ornaments or other property given to a wife by her husband are kept by the husband if the wife is transferred to another man or group of men. [586]

Harkness records a case in which a dispute about property arose. In this case a woman bore two children to three husbands. One of the husbands died and the other two husbands married other wives. The two children claimed one-third of the property of the mother and her first husband, and Harkness was told that this was generally recognised to be a just claim. I did not inquire into this special case but according to the laws of inheritance of property which I have given, it would seem that the children were entitled to 428

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

TODAS AND BADAGAS

101 The Todas call a Badaga *Mav*,[1] which seems to be a form of the Canarese word for father-in-law or maternal uncle. The origin of this term is said to have been that when the Todas first met a Badaga, they asked his name and he answered "*Mav*." A Badaga who performs certain services for the *palol* is called *tikelfmav*. Certain elders of the Badagas are also called *madtin*.

177 609

Whenever a Toda meets a Badaga *monegar* (headman) or an old Badaga with whom he is acquainted, a salutation passes between the two which is represented in Fig. 69. The Toda stands before the Badaga, inclines his head slightly, and says "*Madtin pudia!*" ("*Madtin*, you have come.") The Badaga replies "*Buthuk! buthuk!*" ("Blessing, blessing") and rests his hand on top of the Toda's head. This greeting only takes place between Todas and the more important of the Badaga community. It would seem that every Badaga headman may be greeted in this way, but a Toda will only greet other Badaga elders if he is already acquainted with them. The salutation is made to members of all the various castes of the Badagas except the Torayas. It has been held to imply that the Todas regard the Badagas as their superiors, but it is doubtful how far this is the case. The Todas themselves say they follow the custom because the Badagas help to support them. It seems to be a mark of respect paid by the Todas to the elders of a tribe with which they have very close relations, and it is perhaps significant that no similar sign of respect is shown to Toda elders by the Badagas.

177 651

The Badagas perform definite services for the Todas and give what may be regarded as a tribute of grain at the harvest. The tribute is called *gudu*. I did not myself investigate the nature of the *gudu*, and there is some difference of opinion among previous writers[2] as to whether a definite amount of grain

[1] *Mav* is also the Toda word for sambhar.

[2] According to Harkness, "each burgher, hamlet, or village" gives about two quarts (p. 108), or (p. 135) half a bushel to the *ti* and half a bushel to the other Todas. According to Breeks (p. 9), the *gudu* is about one-tenth, one-eighth, or one-fifth of the gross produce.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

or a given proportion of the crop is given. I have no information as to the way in which the giving of the tribute is regulated, and it is eminently one of those points on which evidence must be sought from both Todas and Badagas. In the case of the Kotas, we shall see that there is a definitely

177
651
[609]

FIG. 69.—A BADAGA GREETING A TODA

organised system regulating the relations of certain Kota villages to certain Toda clans, and some such system probably exists to regulate the supply of Badaga grain to different clans, but I have no information on the point.[1]

[1] It is possible that the elucidation of this point might also help towards the explanation of the Badaga account of the Toda clans.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the Badagas; but if more grain is required than the Badagas supply, it is possible that other grain may be used, though it is always in this case procured through the Badagas. The rice used at a *ti* dairy must also be procured through the Badagas. 177 437

The supply of grain is far from being the only duty of the Badagas to the *ti* dairies. Each *ti* has one or more special Badagas, each called *tikelfmav*, or "*ti* help Badaga," who acts as intermediary between the *palol* and the Hindus. The earthenware vessels used in the inner room, the various garments of the *palol*, and other objects are made by Hindus, from whom they are procured by the *tikelfmav*. I did not learn of any material recompense given to the Badagas for these services, and the motive is probably some such belief as that described by Harkness. 177 234 609 437

One of the most important parts played by the Badagas in the Toda community is in connexion with the *naim*, or council, of which one member is a Badaga belonging to the village of Tuneri. He is only called upon to sit, however, in cases of difficulty, and probably one of his functions is to assist in the settlement of any dispute which may arise in connexion with the tribute of grain, or other transactions between members of the two communities. 177 623

There is little evidence that the Badagas have had much influence on the more important customs and ceremonies of the Todas. Few traces of their influence are to be found in the dairy ceremonial, but it is possible that some of the rites accompanying birth and death may have been borrowed from this people. The practice of making cicatrices on the arm (p. 576) is common to both Badagas and Todas, and may have been borrowed by the latter from the former, but the practice is not in any way of a ceremonial character. The only part played by a Badaga at a Toda funeral is that the bell called *tukulir mani* may be kept by a Badaga or a Kota, and, as I have suggested on p. 377, the whole ceremony with the calf in which this bell is used may have been borrowed from the Badagas. The idea of a thread bridge between this world and the next is said to be common to Todas and Badagas, but I have no evidence to show which has borrowed from the other. 177

1; Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

177 Badaga. While a Toda regards a Badaga as his equal, or
186 perhaps even as his superior, he looks down on the Kota as
609 inferior, as hardly to be classed as a man with himself. In their secret language, a Toda speaks of a Kota as *kimas ithwai*, "he that is beneath," and in the remedies for the evil eye (see p. 264) the Kotas are the only hill tribe which is not thought worthy of mention—they are not thought to be of sufficient importance to be able to cast the evil eye. When a Kota meets a Toda, he raises both hands to his face and salutes from a distance. The two people do not touch one another in general, though I do not know that contact is definitely prohibited. A Toda will not sleep or take food at a Kota village in general, but makes an exception in the case of Kulgadi in the Wainad (see p. 200). It is usually supposed that the contempt of the Toda for the Kota is due to the flesh-eating, or even carrion-eating, habits of the latter, and this is certainly one of the elements which influence the relations between the two peoples.

177 The Kotas supply the Todas with the larger part of their
437 pottery and ironware.[1] All the earthenware vessels of the dairies, except those of the inner rooms of the *ti* dairies, are supplied by the Kotas, and the various knives and other metal objects of the Todas are chiefly obtained from these people. The Kotas supply most of the things burnt at Toda funerals and they supply the music on these occasions.

Just as the Badagas do not supply grain to the Todas only, so the Kotas do artisan work for Badagas, Kurumbas, and Irulas. The Kotas are the artisans, not of the Todas only, but of the whole hill district.

101 The relations between the Todas and Kotas are strictly
177 regulated, each Kota village supplying certain Toda clans.
437 There are seven Kota villages on the hills of which the following are the Toda and Badaga names:—

In the Todanad district:—

Tizgudr, Tizgadr, or Tizgwadr (Badaga, Tirichigadi), between Ootacamund and Kanòdrs, near the Toda village of Ushadr.

[1] According to Breeks, the Kotas who supply the Todas are known as *mmffu* Kotas.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

177 437 764 five to ten measures (*kwa*) of the grain called *patm* (*samai*), and one or two rupees. If the Kotas do not possess the grain, they may give another one or two rupees in its stead.

At the *marvainolkedr*, they supply a cloak; eight annas to pay for the embroidery of the cloak, which is done by the Toda women; two to five rupees towards the funeral expenses; a bow and three arrows; a knife (*kafkati*); a sieve (*kudshmurn*) and a basket (*tek*).

In return, the Kotas receive the carcases of the buffaloes killed at the funeral, and on the occasion of a Kota funeral, the Todas supply one male calf from three to five years of age and one measure (*kudi*) of clarified butter. The Kotas also receive the bodies of any Toda buffaloes which die a natural death.

177 437 609 796 A Kota visiting a Toda village at any time is given clarified butter to take away with him. He is also given food consisting of jaggery and rice, which must be eaten on the outskirts of the village. A Kota is never given milk, buttermilk, or butter.

Once a year there is a definite ceremony in which the Todas go to the Kota village with which they are connected, taking an offering of clarified butter and receiving in return an offering of grain from the Kotas. I only obtained an account of this ceremony as performed between the people of Kars and the Kota village of Tizgudr, and I do not know whether the details would be the same in other cases.

177 609 796 In the Kars ceremony the Todas go on the appointed day to the Kota village, headed by a man carrying the clarified butter. Outside the village, they are met by two Kota priests whom the Todas called *teupuli*, who bring with them a dairy vessel of the kind the Todas call *mu*, which is filled with *patm* grain. Other Kotas follow with music. All stand outside the village, and one of the Kotas puts ten measures (*kwa*) of *patm* into the pocket of the cloak of the leading Toda, and the *teupuli* give the *mu* filled with the same grain.

The *teupuli* then go to their temple and return, each bringing a *mu*, and the clarified butter brought by the Todas is divided into two equal parts, and half is poured into each *mu*. The leading Toda then takes some of the butter and

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

rubs it on the heads of the two Kota priests, who prostrate themselves, one at each foot of the Toda, and the Toda prays as follows:—

Ullamâ;	*K'ôv*	*ardu*	*tânenmâ;*	*kadr*	*pelumâ;*
May it be well;	Kotas	two	may it be well;	fields	flourish may;

mâ an mâ;	*ir*	*kar*	*mâ,*	*nôv*	*padr*	*mâ.*
rain may;	buffalo	milk	may,	disease	go	may.

The Toda then gives the two *mu* containing the clarified butter to the Kota priests, and he and his companions return home.

This ceremony is obviously one in which the Todas are believed to promote the prosperity of the Kotas, their crops, and their buffaloes.[1]

In another ceremonial relation between Todas and Kotas, the Kwòdrdoni *ti* is especially concerned. The chief annual ceremony of the Kotas is held about January in honour of the Kota god Kambataraya. This ceremony lasts about a fortnight, and, during part of the time, the proceedings are attended by Todas and other of the hill tribes. In order that this ceremony may take place, it is essential that there should be a *palol* at the Kwòdrdoni *ti*, and at the present time this *ti* is only occupied every year shortly before and during the ceremony. The *palol* gives clarified butter to the Kotas, which should be made from the milk of the *arsaiir*, the buffaloes of the *ti*. Some Kotas of Kotagiri whom I interviewed claimed that these buffaloes belonged to them, and that something was done by the *palol* at the Kwòdrdoni *ti* in connexion with the Kambataraya ceremony, but they could not or would not tell me what it was.

The relations between Todas and Kotas are probably of very old standing. The fact that the Kotas supply the bow and arrows burnt at a Toda funeral suggests that the connexion goes back to the time when the Todas used these weapons, while the special sieve supplied by the Kotas for a funeral is of a different pattern from that in use at the present

[1] The Kotas are agriculturists as well as mechanics, and, according to Breeks, they are quite as efficient as the Badagas in this occupation. They also keep buffaloes, though chiefly or entirely for their own use.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

TODAS AND KURUMBAS

The Toda name for a Kurumba is *Kurub*, which often sounds like *Kurb*. In the secret language, a Kurumba is called *dr kârthpol*, "the man who watches the way." Mr. Thurston states that when a Kurumba meets a Toda, he bends forward and the Toda places his hand on the Kurumba's head. The Todas may visit Kurumba villages and take food in them.

Two ceremonial objects are obtained by the Todas from the Kurumbas. One is the tall pole called *tadrsi* or *tadri*, which is used in the dance at the second funeral ceremonies and afterwards burnt. Poles of the proper length are said to grow only on the Malabar side of the Nilgiris and are probably most easily obtained from the Kurumbas. The other is the *teiks*, or funeral post at which the buffalo is killed, which is probably made of teak wood.

The most striking feature of the relations between Todas and Kurumbas is the belief of the former in the magical powers of the latter, a belief which is shared by both Kotas and Badagas. The sorcery of the Toda is dangerous, but can be remedied, while for *kurubudrchiti*, or Kurumba sorcery, there is no remedy, and all that can be done is to kill the Kurumba, apparently to avoid further evil consequences to the community rather than from motives of revenge.

The Kurumbas play no part in the social life of the Todas. With the one exception of providing the funeral pole, I could not learn that they had any functions at Toda ceremonies. It was said that the *teuol*, Pangudr, who was believed to be inspired by Kwoto, must dance, *i.e.*, divine, to the Kurumbas before he dances to the Todas, and when so doing, must dance like a lame man, this behaviour owing its origin to the god Kwoto (see p. 209). It is possible that this shows that the Kurumbas believe in Toda divination and consult the diviners.

The Kurumbas are mentioned in several Toda legends. According to one account, it was this people whom Kwoto deceived, making them eat the flesh of a buffalo calf;

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

177 according to another, it was the Panins or Panyas who were
773 deceived by the god.

Kwoten is said to have initiated the practice of allowing Todas to visit Kurumba villages, and he appears to have been closely connected, in some way, with the Kurumbas, who still offer plantains to Terkosh and light lamps in her honour, Terkosh being the goddess who was connected with his disappearance and deification.

174 In the story of Kuzkarv, the Kurumbas, together with the
177 Irulas, collect honey for the Todas from nests in a tree,[1] and
773 this seems to point to a time when these tribes took an active part in the social life of the Todas. It seems possible that the Kurumbas and Irulas were the huntsmen of the Todas, and sought roots and honey for them, just as the Badagas were the agriculturists and the Kotas the mechanics.

TODAS AND IRULAS

101 The Irulas live on the lower slopes of the Nilgiri Hills and
177 have few relations with the Todas. They are called *Erl* by
609 the Todas, and, according to Mr. Thurston, they are saluted in the same way as the Kurumbas. The Irulas are among
754 the people mentioned in the remedial formula used against the effects of the evil eye, and are evidently regarded as having some magical power, though they are not feared in the same measure as the Kurumbas.

177 The name of the Irulas only occurs once in my collection
773 of Toda legends, in the story of Kuzkarv, where they are associated with the Kurumbas. Atioto, who is the special deity of Kwòdrdoni and Pedrkars, is said to have a temple of which the priest is an Irula. This is probably an Irula temple to which the Todas make offerings.

[1] It is perhaps noteworthy that some of the Kurumbas of Malabar are still noted for their cleverness in collecting honey, and are known as *Tîn* or honey Kurumbas (Fawcett, *Bull. Madras Museum*, iii, p. 9).

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

621 consists chiefly of huts obviously of recent construction and not of the proper Toda form. There is a small dairy (*tarvali*) and the situation of the former *wursuli*, almost completely overgrown, can still be seen. There is a buffalo enclosure called *Punatu*. The *irnörtkars* is a stone of ordinary appearance with other smaller stones round it, and there is also a *pilinörtkars* of which only a small piece now shows above the ground. There is a very large *tukitthkars* at this village (see pp. 252 and 597).

621 778 609 Another stone here is called *imudrikars* or *parsatthkars*. Milk is put on it every morning and evening by the *palikartmokh*, but it is not used in any way in connexion with a funeral. The Todas relate that an Englishman shot at and splintered this stone some years ago. Soon after he was bitten by his horse, and he asked the Todas, with whom he was on very good terms, what ought to be done. He was told that he should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, and a few days later he brought a three-year-old calf to the *irnörtkars* at Nidrsi and gave it to the people. It was taken by both *Iudr* and the Englishman was soon well again. The whole affair was regarded as a good joke, and is interesting as showing that the Todas do not object to making sport of one of their sacred ceremonies, especially when they gain an addition to their stock of buffaloes.

621 *Akirsiködri*. This is the male funeral village, at which there is a dairy with three rooms, in which the body of a dead man is placed on the day of the *etvainolkedr*.

MELGARS

184 618 234 554 The Tarthar clan which takes its name from the village of Melgars occupies a very special position in the Toda social organisation and in the dairy ceremonial. Although a Tarthar clan, the Melgarsol in many respects resemble the Teivaliol much more closely than they resemble the other clans of their own division.

In former times the Melgarsol are said to have held the office of *palol* at the Kars *ti* and at the Pan *ti*, and to have lost this privilege owing to misbehaviour of a *palol*, of which

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

141 " which are worn full; *ears*, of moderate size, and lying close to the skull; *teeth*,
" white, clean, and regular; head well covered with black hair, of moderate
142 " fineness, and worn in a peculiar fashion, combed smoothly around from the
" crown, and cropped evenly in line with the eyebrows, and covering the head very
" much like a natural skull-cap; body of the male, hirsute, especially on back and
" chest; *figure and contour of person*, generally attractive, and carriage graceful.
" Of 25 men, I found the average weight and measurements as follow:—Weight,
" 121·40 lbs.; height, 63·30 inches; circumference of head, 20·81 inches; neck,
" 13·81 inches; chest, 32·22 inches; arms, 9·36 inches; thighs, 16·64 inches;
" length of arm from acromion process to tip of fingers, 32 inches; length of hand,
" 7·50 inches—breadth, 3·50 inches; lower extremities, well proportioned, with
" moderate calves; feet, well formed and arched, length of foot, 11·50 inches—
" width of sole, 4 inches.

142 " *Females of the Toda Tribe.*—The women of this tribe are generally tall and
" stalwart; good-looking both in features and person, with a smooth, clear, and delicate
302 " skin; fresh and rather fair in complexion. They have more of an aquiline nose
" than the men, which, however, does not diminish from the strong feminine cast of
" their features. The hair is of a lighter colour than in the male, parted in the
" centre, and carefully combed around and thrown behind the ears, and left
" hanging free over the shoulders and back, in a mass of flowing curls in some,
" and in others, wavy. I have not seen any of the women with very long hair.
" In those I met, it did not exceed 1½ or 2 feet in length, and was of moderate
157 " fineness. The females, like the males, are self-possessed in a great degree, and
" readily enter into conversation with strangers, be they white or black. It has
609 " been averred that the Toda females, as a class, are strikingly handsome and comely
142 " in features; but although many of them certainly possess charms in person of a
" robust character, I cannot say that I met with even one with a handsome or
" pretty face, much less any with features approaching in perfection or beauty to a
" classical model.

141 " From an average of 25 the following weights and measurements were obtained:—
" Height, 60·25 inches; weight, 110·80 lbs.; circumference of head, 20·8 inches;
" neck, 11·11 inches; arm, 8·90 inches; chest, 30·11 inches; thighs, 14·6 inches;
" length of arm, 27 inches; length of hand, 6·75 inches, breadth, 3 inches; forehead
" from root of nose to growth of hair on scalp, 2 inches." (*Plates* III., IV., V., VI., VII.)

142 The facial peculiarities of the Todas are not so great as they at first sight appear.
When they shave and wear turbans, which many now do, they are hardly to be
302 distinguished from other natives. Their frank bold manners are, however, entirely
157 peculiar to themselves, and very attractive. A Toda laughs without disguise or restraint
609 at anything in an Englishman that strikes him as ludicrous, and generally seems to
consider himself as an equal or superior. I suspected them of a little hoaxing
sometimes. It is impossible not to like them, if only for their independence and good-
humour.

3; Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

"border. It is hung over the left shoulder, brought across the back, and forward
"under the right arm, the point being flung backwards over the left shoulder again,
"leaving the right arm at liberty, and allowing the folds to fall gracefully about the
"lower part of the person down to the knees." (*Plate* XI.)

* * * * *

"The female dress (*Plate* IV.) on ordinary occasions consists of a robe similar
"to that of the men, though it is worn differently, being merely thrown over both
"shoulders and clasped in front by the hand."

Singularly massive ornaments are worn by the women (*Plate* V.)[1] A pair of brass armlets worn on one arm above the elbow weighed 6 lbs.

The *Büguri* (*Plate* XI.) is the only musical instrument they possess. It is a hollow bamboo with holes like a flute, and a piece of horn or wood at the lower end. The performer blows in at the top and produces a disagreeable sound, aggravated by the fluttering of a piece of paper inserted between the bamboo and the horn. They are fond of singing, that is, of chanting in a monotonous drone apparently without words. To a European ear, however,—

"their song is death"
"And makes destruction please."

like that of the Sirens, but for a different reason. They dance in circles with clubs (*Plate* XI.), holding hands or linking arms, and marking time with shouts of *Hoh, Hoh*.

They generally greet Europeans with a simple salaam; sometimes with a sort of bow or military salute made in a courteous and dignified manner. A Toda woman meeting a man salutes him by raising his feet one after the other to her forehead. An old woman, however, receives instead of paying this reverence. A Badaga meeting a Toda lays his hand on the head of the latter. This, and the title *Mâv*, father-in-law,* which is assigned to the Badagas, seems to imply some belief in the superiority of the latter.

When Europeans came to the Hills under the auspices of Mr. Sullivan in 1820, to settle at Ootacamund and elsewhere, one of the first questions that arose, concerned the nature and extent of the Toda rights in the soil.

The subject was discussed for years, during which no attempt was made by Government to have these rights ascertained and defined. Ultimately, however, an inquiry took place, which, amidst a mass of correspondence, elicited the following noteworthy points:—

From as far back as our records extended, it appeared that the Todas had paid annually a light pasture tax for about 190 *Ballas*† of land, and 2 *Kantirâi fanams*‡ for each buffalo, and had enjoyed the right of pasturing their herds over

* A Badaga house is sometimes called *Pîthchi*, like the Todas' temples.
† A *Balla* = 4 acres nearly.
‡ *Kantirâi fanam* = Or. 4a. 8p. of present money.

1 [Plate 5A -- Analyst]

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

they walk to another stone near the Kėdmane in procession, shouting "Hoh Hoh," the Peiki with the bow in the middle, and the *Varzhâl* in front, carrying the leaf vessel, out of which he takes two pieces of bark at intervals, throwing one behind him and another before him. The calf is dragged to this stone and let loose, when they all run after it, throwing themselves down at intervals so as to touch the ground with their foreheads, and shouting

Amnnâdga Sérumâ
Karma dharma tilimâ.

which may be rendered, "May he enter heaven, may it be well with his good deeds "and his sins."

The Peikis and Pekkans do not sacrifice a buffalo, nor loose a calf at the dry funeral, but at the next new moon they slaughter a male buffalo, and bringing the blood in a leaf vessel to the *kédmane*, sprinkle it on the kraal and the *Āzāram*.

The ceremonies are hardly concluded, before the Kotas descend upon the carcases of the buffaloes like so many vultures, and hack them to pieces, screaming and squabbling over the spoil, and carrying off the flesh in great lumps to their homes. It is curious that the Todas, to whose relatives the dead animals are consecrated, make no objection to this disgusting operation, though carried on at the very door of the *Kédmane*. I asked a Toda once about it, and he replied, "*When the buffaloes are* "*alive they are ours; when dead they belong to the Kotas.*"

The *Kéd* is burnt about four o'clock on the following morning (they say the burning must be completed before dawn) at the *Āzāram*,* a single circle of large stones fixed in the ground not far from the Kėdmane. They first light a fire outside the *Āzāram*, and then spread the *pâtkuli* with the *kéd* in the middle of the circle, and pile burning sticks on it until, with the help of ghee, they make a great blaze. They put on the inside fire the following articles:—

A *Kêf Kutti*, a sort of large knife or sickle wrapped round with cloth.
An axe.
Twenty-one bamboo measures ornamented with cowries, two anna bits, and coloured threads, and containing barley, kîre, and sâme grain.
Four or five cakes of jaggery.
A winnowing basket.
A basket for holding rice.
Three or four Toda walking sticks.
A straight pole (*Tarzh*) 20 feet long, ornamented with tassels and rosettes of cowries, and sometimes with a small silver umbrella. (*Plate* XI., *fig. b.*)
A palm-leaf umbrella.
A miniature bow and three arrows.† (*Plate* XI., *fig. a.*)
A purse.

* I could not ascertain with any certainty whether these stone circles, which are always to be found near the funeral mand, had been constructed in recent years or were of considerable antiquity. Their appearance, however, did not suggest any great age. From the Todas whom I questioned on the subject, it was very difficult to elicit any definite information; but the impression which their answers conveyed, was, that now and then they construct new circles, when they consider that the old ones have been used long enough.

† I am told that these are burned at the green funeral when the Kotas have time to make them, but they must not be made beforehand, or the man for whom they were intended would die; and as the Kotas will only work, and the Todas only burn on certain days, it must frequently happen that the two do not coincide.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

others who had been employed, not with conspicuous success, on planters' estates. The Todas consider it beneath their dignity to cultivate land. A former Collector of the Nīlgiris granted them some acres of land for the cultivation of potatoes, but they leased the land to the Badagas, and the privilege was cancelled. In connection with the Todas' objection to work, it is recorded that when, on one occasion, a mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort to hard remedies, were compelled to save appearances by making him an overseer. The daily life of a Toda woman has been summed up as lounging about the mad or mand (Toda settlement), buttering and curling her hair, and cooking. The women have been described as free from the ungracious and menial-like timidity of the generality of the sex in the plains. When Europeans (who are greeted as swāmi or god) come to a mand, the women crawl out of their huts, and chant a monotonous song, all the time clamouring for tips (inām). Even the children are so trained that they clamour for money till it is forthcoming. As a rule, the Todas have no objection to Europeans entering into their huts, but on more than one occasion I have been politely asked to take my boots off before crawling in on the stomach, so as not to desecrate the dwelling-place. Writing in 1868, Dr. J. Shortt makes a sweeping statement that "most of the women have been debauched by Europeans, who, it is sad to observe, have introduced diseases to which these innocent tribes were once strangers, and which are slowly but no less surely sapping their once hardy and vigorous constitutions. The effects of intemperance and disease (syphilis) combined are becoming more and more

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

196 539 614 The remaining passage in a song about my investigations is as follows:

nalkanɯsk	sydj-mil-sydj	puɳɯθik		
poʃjoɪʃ-xoɪɲjm	oɪtoɪʃ-foɲt	öštjɯɖoɪ	ɯdɯθik	
om arjeɲ	enk öštoθ	soɛj-moɪʤkin	ɯdɯθɯng	noɪɲɳɯsfɯn

"You sent message after message to the mund omgaɪs. You said: 'Tell me without fail the nature of the poʃjoɪʃ.' Noɪɲɳɯs (Nòdrners, 67) said: 'I do not know; I was not told; I swear an oath.' " The pair poʃjoɪʃ, oɪtoɪʃ is used as demanded by convention, as is also poɲt "word," but to fit the pertinent word poʃjoɪʃ (which I was enquiring about) into the context, the conventional noɪškj was replaced by koɪɲjm,[22] primarily "ceremony, ritual detail," here "details in general, nature." The song-phrases have been violently torn from their usual contexts and oɪtoɪʃ-foɲt, necessary by convention, is here quite meaningless. (Incidentally, noɪɲɳɯs was the only Toda who ever refused information about matters that he certainly knew thoroughly.) The relationship within a matrilineal sib is essentially surrounded by shame, embarrassment (noɪškj), and should not be talked about to outsiders. This was undoubtedly Rivers' experience, and so his failure to find out about the matrilineal sibs, even though he got the word poʃjoɪʃ, is to be explained.

115 609 114

On the whole, then, examination of the song-passages where matrilineal sibs are mentioned convinces me that the key-passage to an understanding of the conventional song-pair poʃjoɪʃ, oɪtoɪʃ did not turn up in the many texts that I recorded. This was my frequent experience in recording songs and interpreting the song-language. In many cases a pair can have originated in one context only and was then transferred, sometimes violently, to other contexts where it did not quite fit. If it did not fit but was used only in an allusive manner, it was usually impossible to get at a literal meaning. Occasionally the original context would be found in a song only after dozens of instances had occurred in which the words were badly fitted. In the case of the phrase under discussion the original context has not turned up. We may suspect that an account in a song of the path of the dead might contain the key-passage, and yet such accounts occur in the material to the number of half a dozen, none containing the desired passage. Moreover, as has been seen above in the discussion of the prose passage, the pair poʃjoɪʃ, oɪtoɪʃ may have been imported into it from the songs and certainly is not a good fit in its context.

614 835 It is clear however from the song-passages, the prose passage, and the refusal of noɪɲɳɯs to give information that the essential element in the attitude of the Todas to the matrilineal sibs is one of shame and embarrassment. And yet we are not much further in our understanding of the psychology of the matter. The best guess on the reason for the difference of attitude towards the patrilineal sibs and the matrilineal sibs is that, while incestuous relations are forbidden within both types of sibs, the latter, as the one containing one's mother and sisters, is the one where incest comes closest home. In Toda culture the crucial relations are part of a larger division which is worked intimately into the entire social structure of the

[22] This word is borrowed ultimately from Sanskrit kāryə.